



# Europe's Search for Security After World War One

*Patricia Clavin*

*C. Boesch  
Geneve  
1920*

*League of Nations' Health Committee: 1920 meet 2020.*

# 'Sustainable Security'

## Durable Peace



## Organizations and Public Opinion

Royal Institute  
for International  
Affairs  
(Chatham  
House)

US Council of  
Foreign  
Relations

International  
Summerschools

Graduate  
Institute,  
Geneva



'the settlements being made in Paris were mainly the resultant of the public opinion of the various countries concerned, which public opinions were often in conflict...

Right public opinion was mainly produced by a small number of people in real contact with the facts who had thought through the issues involved'

Lionel Curtis, British Colonial Office Official, 30 May 1919





‘Whenever it is proven  
that African natives are  
not receiving just  
treatment at the hands  
of any State or that any  
State deliberately  
excludes its civilized  
citizens or subjects of  
Negro descent from its  
body politic and cultural,  
it shall be the duty of the  
League of Nations to  
bring the matter to the  
attention of the civilized  
World.’

Resolution: Pan-African Congress, Paris 1919



## THE TEXT OF THE FOURTEEN POINTS

**P**RESIDENT WILSON'S Fourteen Points, as set forth in an address made before the joint session of Congress, on January 8, 1918.

- 1 Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- 2 Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside territorial waters alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action or the enforcement of international covenants.
- 3 The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- 4 Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
- 5 A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.
- 6 The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.
- 7 Belgium, the whole world will agree must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without

this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

- 8 All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.
- 9 A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
- 10 The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
- 11 Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered upon.
- 12 The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
- 13 An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.
- 14 A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

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# Jan Christiaan Smuts, 1919

‘We witness the collapse of the whole political and economic fabric of Central and Eastern Europe. Unemployment, starvation, anarchy, war, disease, despair stalk the land’.





The 'country is deprived of its most fertile soil, of its coal mines, of its sea-coast. In short, of **everything so necessary for its existence.** It has become quite a small mountainous country, which is, moreover, charged with the sustenance of nearly 2½ million inhabitants of Vienna.'

*Austrian Office of International Relief and Mutual Understanding, 1919*

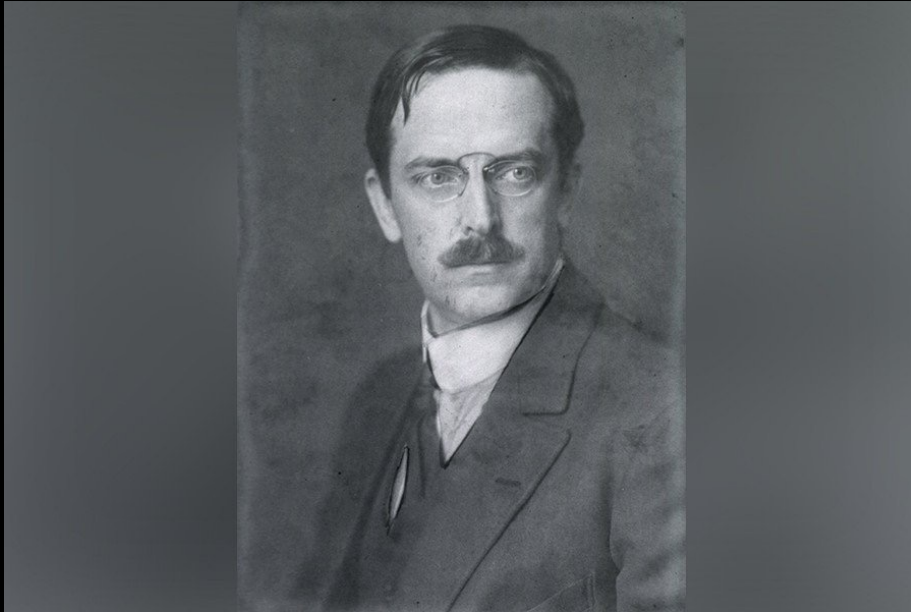


K.K. Allgemeines Krankenhaus  
*Alser Hauptstrasse N<sup>o</sup> 195.*

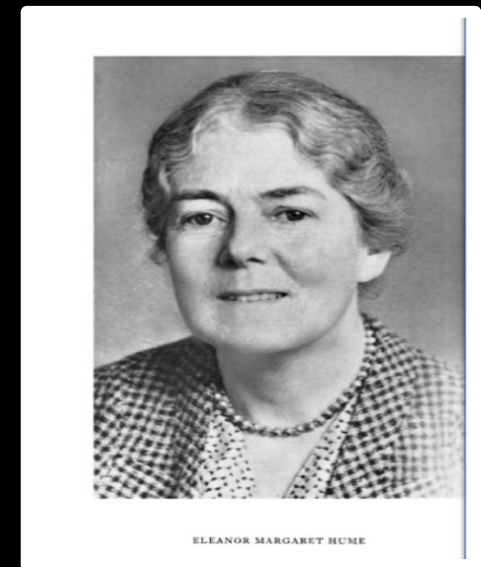
Beveridge's  
'grim  
photographs',  
Vienna 1918-  
1919







Clemens Peter Freiherr von Pirquet,  
Pediatrician, Kinderklinik, Vienna



Harriette Chick, Elsie Dalyell, 'Margot' Hume,  
Lister Institute for Preventative Medicine and MRC, 1919

May 1919

## A STARVING BABY



This child is 2½ years old, and its weight is only 12 lb. 2 oz. The normal weight of a child of this age is 28 lb. 2 oz. The size of the child's head is out of all proportion to its body, because through starvation its body and its limbs have not developed.

There are millions of such children starving to-day.

The only way to bring real help to starving Europe is  
**TO RESTORE FREE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN  
THE NATIONS AND ALLOW THE STARVING  
COUNTRIES TO FEED THEMSELVES.**

National Labour Press Ltd., 8/9/10 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4

# Save the Children

LSE Archives: Private Papers of Dorothy Buxton

May 1919

## Our Blockade has caused this!

ALL OVER EUROPE  
MILLIONS OF CHILDREN ARE STARVING TO DEATH



Two Starving Austrian Children, aged 10 and 7.  
They weigh 33 lb. and 23½ lb.

**We are responsible  
How can we stop it?**

Write to Lloyd George and say you won't stand it.

## Raise the Blockade everywhere.

Women's International League, 14 Bedford Row, W.C. 1.

National Labour Press Ltd., 8/9/10 Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C. 4.

P6

56-5  
55



# Three Related Shocks



Hunger and Disease -  
cholera, typhus,  
tuberculosis, Spanish  
'flu.



Inflation &  
hyperinflation



Population  
Displacement

# The League and 'Golden Fetters'



**'the first step is to bring public opinion in every country to realise the need for re-establishing public finances on a sound basis as a preliminary to the execution of those social reforms which the world demands'.**

*League of Nations Report, 1920*

Montagu Norman,  
Governor of the Bank of  
England, 1920-1944



Bertha Pappenheim,  
Founder, German  
League of Jewish  
Women

International aid  
exposed Jews to  
charges of  
*'unfair  
distribution and  
unjustified  
favours'*



## Article 23(e) of the Covenant of the League of Nations

to secure ... **equitable treatment for the commerce** of all Members of the League.



Sir Hubert Llewellyn Smith, Chief Economic Advisor of HMG, 1919-1927

## Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye

If the Austrian Government engages in international trade, it shall **not** in respect thereof have or **be deemed to have any rights, privileges or immunity of sovereignty.**

*Four extended articles regarding restrictions re. use of trade-marks etc.*



*A byproduct of the American-led process of national emancipation seems to be the commercial atomization of Central Europe and the suppression of German economic expansion to the benefit of England and America.*

Richard Riedl, "Die Wirtschaftspolitik der Entente und Wilsons vor dem Frieden," *Deutsche Review* 45 (1920), 111.

*'The historical, geographical and national connection between Germany and Austria is much closer and older than the ... connections of the British Empire. Your historical connection with the Dominions is a thing of yesterday; our connection with Austria goes back to times of Magna Carta'*

Moritz Bonn, Lecture,  
Chatham House, July 1931







# Concluding Remarks

- History shows meaning and purpose of calls for 'international cooperation' not agreed.
- Past needs to be understood and acknowledged because of its role in shaping expectations of the future.
- Women and youth activists' stress on food. In a world of finite resources, they saw food security central, not transient, problem.
- Primacy of financial and economic questions in global order after 1945, but creation of separate domains. History of 1920s helps reveals the links.